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THE REPUBLIC OF SAN MARINO

THE Republic of San Marino, the oldest and smallest in the world, deserves on both these grounds the attention of Americans, to whom the following pages, the result of two visits to the miniature commonwealth of the Apennines and of considerable study of its history, may be of interest. Much has been written in French and Italian about San Marino,¹ and the documents of the republic have been carefully arranged by Professor Malagola of Bologna, in the archives beneath the new government building;² but with the exception of the late Mr. J. T. Bent's now almost obsolete *Freak of Freedom*, and of a translation from the French made by an American, who was created a citizen of San Marino, Mr. William Warren Tucker, there is no book in English about the sole surviving example of the Italian medieval republics.

The legendary origin of this tiny state is described in the *Acta Sanctorum*, the authors of which based their account on two manuscripts and three printed lives of the saint from whom San Marino derives its name. These accounts, even the earliest of which was written some centuries after the events recorded, are a mixture of fables and miracles, but perhaps contain some grains of fact. According to the most probable version, two friends, Marinus and Leo, natives of the Dalmatian island of Arbe, crossed the Adriatic soon after the middle of the fourth century of our era, and settled at Rimini on the Italian coast. At a distance of about fifteen miles rises the picturesque cliff, called Monte Titano either from the

¹ A very complete bibliography of books and articles about San Marino was published in 1899 by Baron L. de Montalbo, Duke A. Ostrando, and Count A. Galati di Riella, under the title of *Dizionario Bibliografico Iconografico della Repubblica di San Marino, contenente le Indicazioni delle Opere pubblicate in varie Lingue*.

² See his papers in the *Atti e Memorie della R. Diputazione di Storia Patria per le Provincie di Romagna*, 3^a serie, VI. 260-349; VIII. 196-284; IX. 111-147; and his *L'Archivio Governativo della Repubblica di San Marino*.

legendary conflicts of Titans there or from a certain Titanus, or Tritanus, a soldier of Pompey's army, whose name is said to have been found there on a tomb in the sixteenth century. To this mountain Marinus may well have repaired, for he was a stone-mason by trade, and the quarries of Monte Titano still form one of the chief industries of the natives. On one of these visits he recognized that this secluded spot was just the place for a pious anchorite, and decided to establish himself there. I was shown the bed, hewn out of the rock, where he is supposed to have slept, and the whole place is naturally full of legends about him. His reputation for piety soon spread, and the Bishop of Rimini invited him to return to that city, and made him a deacon for his services in combating the heresies of the time. But he soon grew weary of the world, and went back to his hermitage, where he built a chapel for the use of the faithful, who had gathered around him. A wealthy matron named Felicissima, to whom the mountain and neighboring lands belonged, was converted by him and made him a present of those possessions, so that when he died he was able to tell his followers: *relinquo vos liberos ab utroque homine*, a phrase which has been interpreted to mean that he left them free from both political and ecclesiastical jurisdiction. His remains, carried off by the Lombard king Astolphus to Pavia, but restored by Pepin, now lie in the principal church of the Republic, whither they were transferred in 1628. Two guardians of the precious relics, called *Massai*, are annually appointed, and every year the festival of the saintly founder is celebrated.

It is clear from this story, that the Commonwealth of San Marino originated from a religious community, and the first authentic allusion to it which has come down to us is that of a monk, named Eugippius,¹ who flourished in the fifth or sixth century, and said that he had read the life of another monk, "who had once lived in the monastery of Monte Titano." The next apparent mention of the spot is contained in the work of the pseudo-Anastasius, who includes among the places comprised in Pepin's donation to the Pope a certain *Castellum S. Marini* or *S. Mariani*, or *S. Martini* (for the readings vary). The statement was of some importance, because it was subsequently used as a proof of the alleged rights of the Holy See over the Republic. But, even supposing the donation of Pepin to be genuine, there was no "castle" of S. Marino in that monarch's time on Monte Titano, so that another place must have been meant. Moreover, local antiquaries cite the proceedings

¹ Melchiorre Delfico, *Memorie Storiche di San Marino*, I. 11. Hauteccœur, *La République de San Marino*, 5, who quotes Canisius, *Antiquae Lectiones*, VI.

of a lawsuit between Deltone, bishop of Rimini, and Stephen, "priest and abbot" of S. Marino, in 885, to prove that the latter was living under a different legal system from that which prevailed at Rimini, and that therefore, not being governed by Roman law, San Marino could not have been included in Pepin's donation in 753.¹ The document, which has been preserved in the state archives, and is printed in full by Delfico, is known as the *placitum Feretranum*, because John, bishop of Montefeltro, was appointed to decide between the parties, and is the earliest which the Republic possesses. The next mention of the place is in a diploma of Berengarius II., King of the Lombards, who, fleeing before the victorious arms of the Emperor Otho, executed this document, *actum in plebe S. Marini*, in 951.²

The inhabitants, like those of other parts of Italy at that period, now began to fortify themselves by building the "castle," to which we have subsequent allusions in documents, and, as their numbers had increased, began, towards the end of the eleventh century, to extend their territory by purchase. Thus, they bought from the counts of Carpegna and the monastery of S. Gregorio the neighboring castle of Penna Rossa with its appurtenances, and the castle and property of Casole, while, much later, in the fourteenth century, the people of Busignano joined them for mutual protection. The *Borgo*, at the foot of the mountain on which the little capital stands, was founded, and a new form of government instituted. The original system seems to have consisted in an assembly of all heads of families known as *L'Arrengo*, which is still summoned at San Marino twice a year, but no longer retains the right of discussion. A new body, *Il Consiglio Generale*, which is mentioned in a document of 1253 as already existing, took the place of the *Arrengo*, and two officials were chosen from this Council every six months to preside over the Commonwealth. The first two of these "Consuls," as they were originally called, whose names have been preserved, were elected in 1224, and there is an almost complete list of them from that date. But in the statutes for 1295, the date at which Professor Malagola's collection of statutes begins,³ we find the names *capitaneus et defensor* substituted for those of *consules*. Towards the end of the fourteenth century, the terms of *capitanei seu rectores* are found, and now the two presidents are called *Capitani Reggenti*. The state thus organized received the name of *Libertas* for which that of

¹ Delfico, I. 15-19, and Fattori, *Ricordi Storici della Repubblica di S. Marino*, 14-15, collect the local opinions. For the text see Delfico, II. App.

² Muratori, *Rerum Italicarum Scriptt.*, I. pt. 2, p. 428.

³ But we have mention of a statute as early as 1253. Delfico, I. 41.

"Republic" was afterwards substituted. Such was the constitution of San Marino, when the conflict between Guelphs and Ghibellines devastated Italy in the thirteenth century. That the tiny republic should have escaped annexation by some of its neighbors seems almost miraculous, for it had numerous dangers to encounter from one or the other of them.

Its first risk was from the bishops of Montefeltro, its spiritual chiefs, one of whom, Ugolino by name, by inducing the Sammarinesi to espouse with him the Ghibelline cause, exposed them to the terrors of a papal interdict, which lay heavily upon their small state from 1247 to 1249, when they were released from it at Perugia. With the object of restoring peace to the rival factions in Romagna, Philip, archbishop of Ravenna, summoned a peace congress to the castle of San Marino in 1252, which however had no better result than an armistice for twenty days.¹

Ugolino, not content with his spiritual authority over the Republicans, clearly aimed at making himself master of a position so valuable as the castle of San Marino in those disturbed times. Thus, we find him participating in the purchase of some property which the Sammarinesi were anxious to acquire, in order to remove certain tolls levied by its owners upon all who visited an annual fair held in the neighborhood. His immediate successor followed his example in a similar transaction, and in 1278 expressed the "wish" that the Sammarinesi should alter a section in one of their statutes—a "wish" which they executed.² In a document of the previous year we find that the bishop had a residence in the strongest part of the city, and it was at San Marino that the famous Count Guido di Montefeltro, head of the Ghibellines in the Romagna, collected his partisans for an attempt on Rimini, at the invitation of a certain Messer Parcitade, chief of the same faction in that city. We are told that Parcitade, defeated by the Guelphs under Malatesta of Verucchio, fled to San Marino, where Guido greeted him with the sarcastic pun: *Ben venga, Messer Perdecittadi* ("Welcome, Mr. Lose-cities"). But that the state was not politically dependent upon the bishopric of Montefeltro is proved by two declarations of independence in the last decade of this thirteenth century. The former of them, dated 1291, arose out of a claim by the papal vicar of that district, who ordered the Sammarinesi to contribute towards the expenses of his office. The Sammarinesi refused, and the matter was submitted to the decision of a certain Palamede, judge at

¹ See the original document in Delfico, II. App.

² *De Voluntate Venerabilis Patris Domini Johannis . . . Episcopi Ferearani*,—another allusion to statutes prior to 1295. Delfico, II. App.

Rimini, who came to Monte Titano, and decided in favor of its inhabitants on the ground that they were "free and exempt from any exterior suzerainty and rule whatsoever." A similar demand, made in 1296 by the "Podestà di Montefeltro," was referred by the natives to Pope Boniface VIII., who ordered an enquiry to be held. We have a long account of this enquiry, which was conducted on the spot by Ranieri, a neighboring abbot, and which forms a Great Charter of Sammarinese liberties. The witnesses, summoned before them, quoted Palamede's decision, and derived their liberties from Marinus himself. A Socratic dialogue ensued, the learned abbot trying to pose the simple mountaineers by pressing them for definitions of "liberty," to which they made excellent replies. But Uberto, bishop of Montefeltro, soon renewed these vexatious claims on San Marino, so that the inhabitants saw themselves compelled to take up arms in their own defence, first arresting some of his envoys on suspicion. They are mentioned as parties to the general pacification of the diocese, which was determined upon at the peace conference held at San Leo in 1300. But the next bishop, Benvenuto, adopted a more subtle line of attack. He asked permission at Rome in 1320 for the sale of the community, which he could not conquer, to the Malatesti, lords of Rimini. The contract was, however, never executed, and the Malatesti soon afterwards made peace with San Marino, although it had just lost its powerful friend, Frederico, count of Urbino, who was the victim of a popular tumult in the latter city. His relative, Speranza di Montefeltro, found a refuge among the Republicans, whose relations with the *Casa Feltria* had been as friendly as they were hostile with the bishops of Montefeltro. Yet, when their old enemy, Bishop Benvenuto, was an exile, they were so magnanimous as to receive him, too. His successor, for a pecuniary consideration, ceded to them all rights which he possessed, and the little land had a respite from troubles.

The citizens were now able to devote themselves to works of public utility. They built a hospital, and appointed a commission of experts to revise their statutes, the result of whose labors was published in 1353. But a new danger soon threatened this small community. Innocent VI., in his palace at Avignon, had resolved to restore the papal power in Italy, and despatched Cardinal Albornoz to subdue the Italian cities over which he claimed dominion. Albornoz, in the course of his career of conquest in the Romagna, found that the closest friendship existed between San Marino and the counts of Montefeltro, and in a treaty concluded with the latter, specially stipulated that the fortress of San Marino should remain under his own immediate control, until such time as the Malatesti

should submit to him. Delfico thinks that this article remained a dead letter,¹ as there are no traces of a foreign garrison on Monte Titano in the next few years ; but Albornoze made a demand for the payment of certain arrears due to the bishopric of Montefeltro, which was satisfactorily disposed of, thanks to the intervention of the ever-friendly counts. We hear, however, of fresh claims by the bishop of Montefeltro, which were not more successful than the others, and in 1368 that prelate visited San Marino, and protested that he claimed to exercise no temporal authority there. An even clearer proof of San Marino's independence is to be found in the account of the place and its government in the *Descriptio* of the province of Romagna, drawn up in 1371 by the successor of Albornoze, Cardinal Anglicus Grimoaldi, and in one of the same cardinal's letters.² "They do not admit," he writes, "the power of the Church, nor anyone exercising jurisdiction in its name ; they govern themselves, and administer their own justice in civil and criminal matters." But in 1375 a traitor, Giacomo Pelizzaro, acting at the instigation of the bishop and the *podestà* of Montefeltro, plotted to betray his country, and was executed by the two heads of the community. He was one of the few traitors in all the fifteen and a half centuries of San Marino's history. Nothing of much interest occurred during the next three decades. The fortifications were completed, and a forger was sentenced to death. Pope Gregory XII., by arriving at Rimini during the papal schism in 1408, caused the citizens some alarm lest they should embrace the losing side in that great dispute ; but the Pope did not seek refuge, as at one time seemed probable, on the rocks of Monte Titano. Some years later the Malatesti accused them of having granted the famous *condottiere*, Braccio, a passage through their territory, and such was their alarm, that they temporarily suspended their constitution and appointed a dictator. And, when Braccio turned his arms against their benefactor, Guido, count of Urbino, they ran the risk of being attacked by him. So close did their relations with Urbino become, that the count granted them in 1440 exemption from all dues on any property which they possessed in his territory, and a letter is preserved in the archives in which he writes to them that, if he had "only a single crust of bread," he would share it with them.

The next period in the history of the republic was the most warlike which it has ever known. In this same year it took part in the war between Count Guido and Sigismondo Malatesta, with such success that at the peace of 1441 the latter was compelled to pay it an indemnity by remitting the taxes due to him by those Repub-

¹ I. 94.

² Text in Hautteccœur, 69-71 ; Delfico, I. 103-104.

licans who had property in his territory. But on Guido's death, Sigismondo endeavored to surprise San Marino by a night attack, which was only averted by means of a timely warning sent to the inhabitants by Guido's successor, Oddo Antonio. A fresh attempt was made in 1449 to bribe some of the citizens, but on this occasion, as before, the plot was discovered, and the principal traitor executed. But the turn of the Republicans to take vengeance on Malatesta soon came. Alfonso of Aragon, King of Naples, who had a quarrel with him, had no difficulty in persuading them through his generalissimo, Frederico, the new count of Urbino, to join in war against the lord of Rimini. A cautious Sammarinese did, indeed, remind his fellow countrymen, much as Onofri reminded them in the time of Bonaparte, that "wars end but neighbors remain." But the offences of Malatesta rankled in their breasts, and in 1458 they signed a treaty of alliance with the King. Still, at the eleventh hour, they seem to have become alarmed, and endeavored to stand well with both parties. Their diplomacy and the operations of their allies were successful, and the Sammarinesi received the castle of Fiorentino, which had long threatened them, and which still forms part of their territory, though it has long been dismantled. Four years later the war was renewed at the instigation of Pope Pius II., who urged the faithful Republicans to attack Malatesta, and made them vague promises of territorial compensation, which they were too wary to believe without some more definite arrangement. The Pope accordingly sent a confidential envoy to make a definite agreement with the republic, which was concluded on September 21, 1462, and provided "that the hamlet of Fiorentino, with the castles of Montegiardino and Serravalle and their appurtenances," should be given to San Marino.¹

These places, together with the castle of Faetano, which had voluntarily joined it, were in 1463 actually added to the republic, as a reward for its vigorous part in the campaign, and are still integral parts of it. "These," says the local historian, Fattori, "are the last acquisitions which the government of San Marino made. From that time the republic has not grown by so much as an inch of land, and, content with its modest frontiers, has never sought to extend them."² The complete downfall of the Malatesti, as the result of this struggle, freed the Republicans from danger on the side of Rimini, and the rest of the fifteenth century was the golden age of San Marino. The Florentines wrote to their "dearest friends," the men of San Marino, and the latter were courageous enough to join in opposing by force Pope Paul II.'s design of an-

¹ Documents in Delfico, II. App.

² Fattori, 37.

nexing Rimini to the Papal States. Availing themselves of the peace which then reigned in the Romagna, the Sammarinesi made, in 1491, a second revision of their statutes, forbidding any citizen, on pain of death, to invoke foreign aid, or to alienate his property to foreign potentates, ordering that traitors should be drawn to execution at the tail of an ass, and annulling the ancient exception which forbade war against the Church. It seems probable that the style of "Republic" had been adopted early in this century, as we find it used as far back as 1448, but Fattori places between 1491 and 1505 the institution of the "Council of Twelve," a body still extant, two-thirds of which are annually elected from the "Council of Sixty," and which possesses certain judicial functions. To the fifteenth century, too, belong several notable natives of this miniature state, such as Giovanni Bertholdi di Serravalle, the theologian, and commentator on Dante, whose work has been published at the expense of the present Pope.

But the sixteenth century began badly for the Republicans. Caesar Borgia's career of conquest in the Romagna filled them with just alarm; and after the fall of the duchy of Urbino at his hands, they sent envoys to Venice, offering to obey the republic of San Marco, rather than the cruel son of Pope Alexander VI., and begging the Venetian government to send them a commissioner. The Venetians declined the overtures of the sister republic, which for a few months in 1503 was actually occupied by the officials of Caesar Borgia. At the first favorable moment, however, the Sammarinesi rose and drove out their tyrants; but the Republican village of Serravalle, which Caesar had released from its allegiance to San Marino, was not anxious to return to it. The Sammarinesi then joined in the Romagnole revolt against Caesar, and we find their commander, Giangi, writing to the *Capitani Reggenti* for a flag, so that he might conquer under the banner of the republic. The death of Alexander VI. and the fall of the Borgia family saved the little state from further danger from that quarter. But a new neighbor appeared on the scene in the shape of the Venetian republic, which had purchased Rimini from the Malatesti. Fortunately for San Marino, the new pope, Julius II., was uncle of Francesco Maria della Rovere, who, on the recent extinction of the house of Montefeltro, had become duke of Urbino, and was animated by friendly feelings for the republic of Monte Titano. Accordingly, the Sammarinesi turned to the Pope in their distress, and he wrote to them in 1509, assuring them that he had "resolved to omit nothing that could be of service for their defence and safety."¹

¹ His letter is in the archives, and is given by Delfico, II. App.

It has even been asserted by some writers, that the Pope was entertained at San Marino during his campaign against Venice.¹ At any rate, the Sammarinesi profited by his victory, and shortly afterward gave a double proof of their independence by refusing to give up to the duke of Urbino certain fugitives from Rimini, and by receiving the inhabitants of San Leo when they were driven out from that place by Lorenzo de' Medici. Under date of 1516, the archives contain a letter from Lorenzo, assuring the republic of his friendship and protection, which was confirmed by a document from Pope Leo X. During the disputes that raged around them at this period, the Sammarinesi preserved a wise and diplomatic neutrality which disarmed hostility.

In 1543 the republic nearly lost its liberty forever. On the night of June 4 a certain Fabiano da Monte attempted to surprise San Marino with a force of over 500 men. Fortunately, the two columns into which this force was divided arrived late at the rendezvous, so that day dawned before they could begin the attack. A great hubbub arose out of this affair; the duke of Urbino, Cosimo of Florence, and the envoys of the Emperor Charles V. in Italy, offered their aid to the little republic, and diligent efforts were made to discover the real authors of the plot. Fattori, who wrote an essay on this question,² inclined to the opinion that Pope Paul III. was at the bottom of it, his object being to convert San Marino into a principality for his son, Pier Luigi, and that a French agent, Strozzi, had arranged the plan of campaign. The salvation of the republic was piously attributed to its patron and founder, and from this epoch Marinus is represented (like San Biagio at Ragusa) as holding in his hands the territory of the commonwealth, while the fourth of June is still kept as a festival, in commemoration of the event. The Pope seems to have become convinced by the scandal caused by this attempt, that the liberties of San Marino were not to be infringed, for we find him writing six years later to threaten with condign punishment all who should transgress the rights of the republic. But in the same year in which he wrote, a new attempt was made on the place by Leonardo Pio, lord of the neighboring castle of Verrucchio; this plot was foiled by the intervention of the duke of Urbino, with whom the republic signed a treaty of defence. The text of this treaty is preserved in the archives, and is one of the most striking proofs of the secular friendship which existed between the rulers of Urbino and the com-

¹ Hauteccœur, 105 n., alludes to this, but Gregorovius does not mention it.

² *Sul Tentativo di Fabiano da Monte San Salvino*, in the *Atti e Memorie della R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per le Province di Romagna*, 1889.

monwealth. In the following year, the town of San Marino was thoroughly fortified by one of its most distinguished citizens, Giambattista Belluzzi, author of a work on fortifications, and the present town walls are memorials of his skill. Encouraged by these evidences of their own strength and by the ducal protection, the Sammarinesi indignantly rejected the summons sent to their captains to appear before the papal throne to answer charges made against them by one of their fellow-citizens. We have already mentioned that the statutes forbade the appeal of a citizen to any foreign power, and, on the present occasion, the government of the republic not only punished the appellant, but firmly declined to admit any rights of jurisdiction outside of their own frontiers.

The latter half of the sixteenth century began, however, to mark a decline in the fortunes of the republic. The public spirit of the community became weaker, the administration of justice was defective, and the great famine of 1591 added a final blow to the sorely tried state. The members of the Council of Sixty neglected their duties to such an extent that a quorum was frequently lacking, and the delays in drawing up a new and much-wanted code of laws were so flagrant that, weary of waiting, the government gave binding force to a compilation, made by a learned Sammarinese, Camillo Bonelli, who, like the most eminent citizens of that period, sought for a wider field for his abilities abroad. There were able men, even in that dark age, who sprang from the soil of Monte Titano, but their talents were usually devoted to the service of other governments. Characteristically enough, as the republic declined in moral force, it added to the splendor of its titles. The Council of Sixty began at this time to style itself *Il Principe* and to describe itself as "most illustrious," and the custom of conferring the honorary citizenship upon foreigners, a custom still prevalent, was introduced. Thus in 1568 we find Antonio Cerri admitted as an honorary citizen, while literary merit was thus rewarded in the person of Zuccoli, author of a quaint dialogue on San Marino, called *Il Belluzzi*, or *Della Città Felice*; for, despite its decline, San Marino still seemed a "happy city" to outsiders in that distracted age.

The seventeenth century opened with the dark prospect that ere long the republic would lose its traditional allies by the death of Francesco Maria II. of Urbino without an heir and the consequent lapse of his duchy to the Holy See. The last duke did not, indeed, die till 1631, but before his death negotiations were made with Urban VIII., who took the republic under his protection, at the same time guaranteeing its liberty and respecting its jurisdiction. From this date San Marino was surrounded on all sides by papal

territory and a long period of peace ensued. But, though free from external dangers, the Republicans continued to be beset by the internal troubles to which allusion has already been made. The difficulty of obtaining a quorum now became so great that in 1652 the number of councillors was reduced from sixty to forty-five. Even at the present date, as Captain Gozi informed me in 1899, it is not easy to find suitable persons for all the offices out of a total population of about nine thousand. In the middle of the seventeenth century it was harder still, owing to the lack of education, which was remedied in 1691 by the foundation of the Belluzzi College. Two other evils are especially mentioned as causes of San Marino's decay, —the maladministration of justice, owing to the fear of giving offence to other members of so small a community, and the increased number of outlaws who had taken refuge there. The former was removed by the common practice of other Italian states, that of substituting for the two captains, in respect to their judicial functions, three foreign judges, elected for the term of three years, a system which still survives. A special law was passed in 1654 to prevent the abuse of the right of asylum, but was of short duration, and in our own days this has been the gravest danger to the independence of San Marino. The once austere republicans, too, became infected with the desire for titles, and in 1646 we find the first mention of a noble caste, which exists at the present time, when there are twenty noble families, and one captain must always be a noble. One noteworthy distinction of that century must not be forgotten, the publication of the first history of San Marino, by Matteo Valli, secretary of the republic.¹

The next noteworthy incident in the history of the state was the visit of Addison in the spring of 1701, to which Macaulay alludes in his essay on that eminent man. In his *Remarks on Several Parts of Italy*, Addison has left us some interesting observations on "the smallest independent state in Europe." "It may boast," he wrote, "at least of a nobler origin than that of Rome: the one having been at first an asylum for robbers and murderers, the other of persons eminent for piety and devotion," and he added that "nothing indeed can be a greater instance of the natural love that mankind has for liberty, and of their aversion to arbitrary government, than such a savage mountain covered with people, and the Campagna of Rome almost destitute of inhabitants."

The threat of a foreign occupation in the first half of the eighteenth century once more raised the long downcast spirit of repub-

¹ *Relazione dell' Origine e Governo della Repubblica di San Marino*. Padova, 1633; reprinted in 1733.

lican liberty on Monte Titano. Two Sammarinesi, in opposition for personal reasons with the government, started an agitation for the abolition of the law, passed in the previous century, for the restriction of the number of councillors to forty-five. They complained of the aristocratic tendencies of this Venetian oligarchy, and demanded the restoration of the ancient *Arrengo* of all heads of families, threatening to throw the councillors out of window if their demands were not granted. The two ring-leaders were arrested and put in prison, but their confederates appealed to the famous cardinal Alberoni, at that time legate of the Romagna, on the ground that one of the prisoners had been seized in a church, and that the other possessed a privilege from the holy house of Loreto which exempted him from any other jurisdiction. Alberoni was glad of an excuse for intervention; he wrote to Pope Clement XII., depicting San Marino as a nest of tyrants and miscreants, stating that some of its inhabitants desired annexation to the Papal States, and pointing out that if so strong a position were allowed to fall into the hands of a powerful prince it might be a source of danger to the Holy Father. At the same time, he arrested two leading Sammarinesi, who were on papal territory, and forbade the importation of provisions into the republic. The Pope replied that Alberoni was to go near the Republican frontier, and there await the petition of the majority and more intelligent part of the inhabitants for annexation; should they, however, not desire it, he was to return home and leave them in peace. Accordingly, on October 17, 1739, Alberoni occupied first Serravalle, and then the Borgo. Giangi, one of the captains, at once gave the order to close both of the gates of the city; but the appearance of a number of suspicious-looking countrymen and the persuasions of his colleague induced him to allow the cardinal to enter. Alberoni and the traitors in league with him introduced his soldiers, and in the evening the city was in their power, and the fortress besieged. One of the most intrepid Republicans cried aloud: *Viva la Repubblica*, as he was dragged off to prison. The cardinal raised the members of the council to sixty, naming fifteen new Councillors among his partisans, substituted a *Gonfaloniere* and two *Conservatori* for the two captains, and ordered the Councillors to meet in the principal church on the 25th, in order to take the oath to the Pope. On the appointed day the cardinal took his seat on the throne of the captains, and called upon the *Gonfaloniere* to take the oath first. He did so, but the heroic Giangi, whose turn it was next, refused to swear. "On the first of October,"¹ he said, "I swore fidelity to

¹ It is on October 1 and April 1 that the captains come into office.

my lawful prince, the Republic of San Marino ; this oath I now confirm, and thus I swear." The next two touched the book without a word, but the fifth, Giuseppe Onofri, said that, while he was ready to take the oath if the Pope absolutely insisted thereon, he would, if His Holiness left him the choice, swear to be ever faithful to San Marino. At these words, the church resounded with shouts of *Erviva la Repubblica*, and another local hero, pointing to the head of Marinus, exposed on the altar, cried aloud : " Long live San Marino ! Long live liberty ! " Alberoni, finding that his friends were in a minority, addressed an impassioned discourse to the people, telling them that he had come to free them from tyranny, not to deprive them of their freedom. His oration availed nothing, and the popular indignation became so threatening that he quitted the church, and ordered the pillage of the houses of the five leading " rebels. " This cowed the people in the church, and in the evening, overcome by hunger, they swore. A few days later, Alberoni withdrew, leaving a governor and a considerable force behind him. But the cardinal's triumph was of short duration. The Republicans laid their case before the Pope, and the French ambassador threatened the Holy Father with an ultimatum from Louis XV. in the event of his refusal to grant their request. Clement XII. sent Monsignor Enriquez to inquire on the spot into the condition of San Marino ; and, as the result of his investigations, on February 5, 1740, the Republic was formally restored, and the day is still kept as an annual festival. Alberoni had to content himself with publishing a *Manifesto Storico-politico-apologetico sulla Conquista del Titano*, to which Cardinal Corsini replied.¹

Eight years later, Benedict XIV. confirmed the independence of the Republic.

The attempt of Alberoni had an excellent effect on the Republicans. They restored the old Council of Sixty in its entirety, and forgot their private quarrels. They had no further difficulties to face until 1786, when the Legate of Ravenna blockaded them for six months, in consequence of their punishment of a certain lawyer who had appealed to Rome. Pope Pius VI. took their side, and gave orders for the cessation of the blockade. Four years later, Cardinal Chiaramonti saved the Republic by a timely warning from being seized by the Freemasons.

Then came the gravest crisis in the history of the state. In 1797 Bonaparte reached Pesaro, and it might have been imagined that the great conquerer would not spare San Marino. Asked

¹ The best work on Alberoni's occupation is Malagola's *Il Cardinale Alberoni e la Repubblica di San Marino*, published in 1889.

what he intended to do with it, he replied : *Conservons-la comme un échantillon de république*. He despatched Monge to San Marino to assure the government of "the fraternity and affection of the French Republic," and his envoy, in a high-flown speech, still preserved in the archives, offered them provisions, cannon and an extension of frontier. Fortunately, the Republicans had at that time as one of their captains Antonio Onofri, a descendant of the Onofri of Alberoni's day, and the wisest of all these peasant statesmen. Onofri politely declined in their name any territorial aggrandizement, and this refusal saved the republic after the fall of Napoleon. The latter, on Monge's return, wrote them an affable letter, in which he promised freedom from contributions to all their citizens in any part of the French Republic, and a few years later Onofri was able to obtain a treaty of commerce with the Cisalpine Republic. When in 1805 Napoleon assumed the iron crown at Milan, Onofri was received in audience by him with great affability. Eugène de Beauharnais and Murat treated San Marino with equal favor, and the only effect which the revolutionary wave had upon the republic was the abolition of the order of nobility in 1797; even this was restored three years later, so that the commonwealth emerged from the turmoil of the Napoleonic period intact.

All went well with San Marino until 1823, when a violent attack upon the state and its government was circulated in Rome with the same object which had animated Alberoni's libels. Leo XII., the new Pope, had never loved the republic, and it needed the good offices of various foreign diplomatists before Onofri could obtain an audience of the pontiff. At last Leo yielded, and wrote an affectionate letter to the captains, assuring them of his friendship and renewing the ancient conventions with them. Charles X. of France, Louis Philippe, Pius VIII., Metternich, and the Austrian emperor Ferdinand¹ all wrote amiable letters to the little republic, and Chateaubriand declared that, if he was "a monarchist in France," he was "a republican at San Marino." The disturbances of 1831 and 1845 in the Romagna led to the extension of the Commonwealth's traditional hospitality to some of the conspirators, but the most serious affair of this kind was the sudden arrival of Garibaldi at San Marino, when, after the fall of the Roman Republic of 1849, he was on his way with his wife, Ugo Bassi, and his devoted band of followers, from Rome to Ravenna. It was on July 31 of that year that he entered the gate, to the consternation of the captains, and informed them that, hard pressed by the Austrians, he had entered the Republican territory in order to have "bread and rest."

¹ Delfico, III. App.

He added : " Here we will lay down our arms ; here shall cease the war of Italian independence." The senior captain replied that he had ordered rations to be prepared for the Garibaldians, and that he would intercede with the Austrian commander, the Archduke Ernst, on their behalf. The archduke would hear at first of nothing but an unconditional surrender, but subsequently contented himself with demanding Garibaldi's exile to America. To this the great leader would not agree ; early in the morning he wrote to the captains a laconic letter, still treasured in the Sammarinese archives, saying : " The conditions imposed on me by the Austrians are unacceptable, and therefore we shall evacuate your territory." He then quitted San Marino, and, thanks to the aid of a Sammarinese, Nicola Zani, who was still alive when I was at San Marino in 1899, made his way through the Austrian lines. Those of his followers who had not gone with him but remained outside the city at first threatened to man the fortifications and hold the place against all comers. But the natives closed the gates and prepared to defend themselves. At last the Garibaldians all laid down their arms, and received from the captains passports and two *paoli* (1 s. 8 d.) each. The Austrians were then invited to take up their quarters in the Republican territory, and the archduke made his temporary abode in the house of Borghesi, the famous numismatist, who (like the historian, Delfico, at an earlier period) lived for years an honored citizen of San Marino. No one ever compensated the little republic for its expenses on the occasion of Garibaldi's visit, but the government was thankful to escape, even with some pecuniary loss, the danger of being placed between the Austrian hammer and the Garibaldian anvil.¹

Two years later, however, the Austrian and papal forces surrounded the Republican territory, and demanded the surrender of all foreigners who had taken refuge there. The government invited the Austrians to come and search for themselves, and they did so. Pius IX., unfavorably disposed to the Apennine Republic for the shelter it had given to the Roman Republicans, took further advantage of the assassination of the Secretary of State and two other persons to suggest a joint occupation by the papal and Tuscan forces. Napoleon III., however, put his veto on this proceeding, and sent an envoy to study the state of affairs and offer the protection, and, if

¹ See on this subject, Brizi, *Le Bande Garibaldine a S. Marino* ; Modoni, *Sul Titano* ; Franciosi, *Garibaldi e la Repubblica di S. Marino* ; Simoncini, *G. Garibaldi e Ugo Bassi in San Marino* (by the keeper of the café, where they stayed) ; and the *Numero Unico*, published on the opening of the New Palace in 1894, which contains much curious matter. Also, *Pall Mall Gazette*, July 31, 1899.

need be, the sword of France to the republic, which declined armed assistance, but gratefully acknowledged the offer of the Emperor. After the creation of the Italian kingdom, he was the first to recognize the continued independence of San Marino. With Italy the republic concluded a commercial treaty in 1862, which has since been renewed every ten years. The Italian Government has a consul there, and the Republic has representatives in several Italian towns, as well as in Paris. In 1864, separate money of San Marino was minted, which has currency in Italy. It is almost all copper, but one of the rare silver pieces is in the collection of King Vittorio Emanuele III. Stamps have become a favorite source of revenue among the Republicans, as they are eagerly bought up by collectors, and the usual devices of changing the colors and surcharging the stamps have been adopted to increase the number of issues. From 1877, when the first stamps came out, till the present time, there have been about seventy postal issues in all, and the last plan was to publish separate stamps for internal use in San Marino's miniature territory! Another means of raising money, the sale of titles, has proved profitable since the creation of an equestrian order in 1859. Dukedoms, baronies and the like are cheap at San Marino, and it is sufficient to present a statue to the state, or even in some cases to write a book about it, in order to become a noble personage. A more dubious source of gain, a gaming-table, was declined in 1868, despite the offers of a company, and San Marino has no newspapers, no railway, and very light taxes.

Its good relations with Italy, largely due to the exertions of Cibrario, a satellite of Cavour, have continued with the single exception of a difficult crisis, which arose in 1874, owing to the old grievance, the abuse of the right of asylum. For three months a cordon surrounded San Marino, but at last it was removed. It was on this occasion that the Italian consulate was founded there. Since that date the chief events have been the inauguration of the new and splendid Government Palace in 1894, when the poet Carducci attended and eulogized the "perpetual liberty" of the state; the financial crisis of 1898, caused by an organized pillage of the National Bank by the cashier; and the extradition treaty between Great Britain and San Marino in 1899.¹ This was the first instance of official relations between the two countries; the British consul-general at Florence was appointed to represent Queen Victoria at San Marino, and in October 1900 a special mission, of which Mr. LeQueux, the novelist, formed part, visited the Republic for the final and formal completion of the treaty.

¹ *Times*, April 18, 1900.

Such are the main facts of San Marino's long history. The causes of its preservation during more than fifteen centuries are to be found in the protection which it obtained, first from the Montefeltro family, then from their successors in the duchy of Urbino, and then, after the extinction of that duchy, from the Popes. No doubt the tact of these peasant statesmen, and their shrewdness in declining offers of territory at the expense of their neighbors, was also of inestimable service to the state ; while the poverty of Monte Titano made it not worth plundering. So, alone of the Italian republics, San Marino still exists, "a pattern," as Napoleon I. said, of a medieval commonwealth, with all those aristocratic arrangements by which those oligarchies were governed. Like Andorra, she remains as an interesting survival, and, as such, will probably be allowed to live on uninjured.

WILLIAM MILLER.